

TOMASZ GACEK

Jagiellonian University in Kraków

tomasz.gacek@uj.edu.pl

SOME REMARKS ON THE LANGUAGE OF MODERN TAJIK PUBLIC INSCRIPTIONS (PART II)

Keywords: Tajik language, public inscriptions, multilingual texts

Abstract

The present article deals with the Tajik language used in modern public inscriptions (sign-boards, sign-posts, billboard advertisements, political banners, etc.) documented in about 400 photographs taken in Tajikistan by various individuals in recent years. Some sociolinguistic problems are discussed (especially in the case of multilingual inscriptions) as well as morphology, vocabulary, word-formation and syntax of the texts in question.

1. Introduction

The present article is a second one dedicated to the study of the Tajik language used in modern public inscriptions, i.e. sign-boards, sign-posts, billboard advertisements, political banners, etc. The first part focused on the languages other than Tajik used in this type of inscriptions. It also included a classification of the inscriptions based on their content. Then the phonetics, phonology and orthography of Tajik inscriptions were analyzed. In this part of the paper their morphological structure will be analyzed.

1.1. Morphology

Noun inflection is limited to number in Tajik. Both native plurality markers, i.e. *-он* (see Perry 2005: 63) and *-ҳо*, can be observed in the analyzed material, e.g. *Тоҷикон* [71] ‘Tajiks’, *меҳмонон* [40, 44] ‘guests’, *зангҳо* [34, 84, etc.] ‘[phone]-calls’, *терминалҳо* [35] ‘terminals’. It has to be stressed that even though in modern Tajik the *-ҳо* marker may be used with any type of noun (Perry 2005: 63), it is found in the

analyzed corpus that it is only attached to inanimate, impersonal nouns. This suggests that the language of public inscriptions is rather conservative as it follows an older rule originating from the period of Classical Persian (that still exists in literary New Persian), according to which *-xo* is not used for people/persons (Rubinčik 2001: 111). Interestingly, *-xo* is also used for words borrowed from (or via) Russian, e.g. *кypoпmxo* [61]. As far as the plurals of Arabic origin are concerned, there are forms with the *-om* ending, e.g. *maxсилom* [38] ‘studies’, which is typically used in Tajik for inanimate and abstract nouns (Perry 2005: 64). On the other hand, the ‘broken plurals’ are almost entirely absent from the analyzed material with the exception of some lexicalized forms (see Perry 2005: 65), e.g. *асъop* ‘currency’ [81] (Ar. أسعار: سعر).

Adjectives in Tajik are inflected only for grade. Most adjectives in the analyzed corpus are positive, e.g. *техникӣ* [37] ‘technical’, *экологӣ* [48], *исломӣ* [83], etc. There are no examples of the comparative grade, however, some superlatives are to be found, e.g. *муҳимтарин* [49] ‘the most important’, *бузургтарин* [49] ‘the biggest’. No forms other than those expected in the Persian of Iran are found in the analyzed corpus, with the exception of the use of the superlative, which may differ. While in Persian the superlative of an adjective in its attributive meaning is only placed before the noun (Rubinčik 2001: 133), in Tajik it is also possible to use it within the frame of a normal *izofat* construction (Perry 2005: 142). There are examples of this specifically Tajik use of the superlative in the analyzed inscriptions, e.g. *дастоварду муҳимтарин* [49] ‘the most important achievement’.

In the case of adverbs, even if – contrary to modern Persian – superlative forms may be found in Tajik (Perry 2005: 153), only positive and comparative grades are attested in the analyzed inscriptions, e.g. *хуш* [40] ‘well’, *наздиктар* [50] ‘more closely’, *муфассалтар* [72] ‘in detail, [more] precisely’.

As far as pronouns are concerned, only personal pronouns are well attested in the analyzed corpus. They include the forms of 1 sg. *ман* [36, 70], 2 sg. *ту* [66], 2 sg./pl. polite *Шумо*¹ [53, 67 etc.], 1 pl. *мо* [43, 52 etc.], 3 pl. *онҳо* [41]. These are quite often used in the *izofat* construction in the possessive sense [36, 60 etc.]. There is an extremely high frequency of the 1 personal pronoun pl., which is particularly prevalent in ideological and political declarations. These inscriptions are expected to strengthen the feeling of inclusiveness and participation, so the over-use of the pronoun *мо* is understandable.

Apart from these pronouns, only a few examples of the reflexive pronoun *худо* [69, 79] and indefinite pronouns like *ҳеҷ кас* and *ҳеҷ чиз* [46] are to be found in the analyzed inscriptions. An interesting example is the pronoun *Шумо* in inscription no. [53], where it is used as a name for an enterprise, and thus it is an example of a linguistic joke, as *Муассисаи Шумо* is “Enterprise Shumo” (such a reading is supported by the English variant of the inscription) but it may be also interpreted as “Your Enterprise”.

¹ A courtesy form based on the 2 pl. In the Tajik Cyrillic orthography the ordinary 2 pl. and polite 2 sg./pl. are clearly differentiated by the use of the capital *Ш* in the latter.

As far as verbal forms are concerned, Present Indicative tense forms are well attested, e.g. *мешавем* [50] ‘[we] become (1 pl.)’, *ҳасма*[нд.] [51] ‘are (3 pl.)’, *ба ҳисоб меравад* [33] ‘is counted [as] (3 sg.)’, *аст* [37, 45, etc.] / *-ст* [58] ‘is (3 sg.)’, *мегуем* [59] ‘[we] say (1 pl.)’, *дорад* [39, 66] ‘has (3 sg.)’, *-ем* [73] ‘[we] are (1 pl.)’, *месозем* [69] ‘[we] build (1 pl.)’, *ҳастам* [70] ‘[I] am (1 sg.)’, *бовар намекунам* [84] ‘I don’t believe (neg. 1 sg.)’, *расонида мешавад* [74] (3 sg. pass.), *дода мешавад* [74] ‘is given (3 sg. pass.)’, *барнамегарданд* [41] ‘do not come back (neg. 3 pl.)’, *мебошад* ‘[he/she/it] is’² [62].

Most of the Present Indicative forms are used in expressions of general validity (Perry 2005: 212), e.g. in a citation from classical poetry: *ЗИ ШОИР ЗИНДА МЕМОНАД БА ГЕТӢ НОМ ШОҲОНРО* [39], as well as in political or ideological declarations like *ТАМАДДУНИ ОРИӢ ГАҲВОРАИ | МАӢНАВИИ ҶАҲОНИӢ АСТ.* [57]. Only a number of examples testify to the use of the Present Indicative in other functions, e.g. “*Мо Роғунро бо дасти худ, бо саҳми худ, | бо дили саршор аз ватандӯстӣ месозем!*” [69], where the verbal form may be understood either as being used to express the action in progress at the moment of composing the inscription or – possibly – an action in the foreseeable future (Perry 2005: 211). An interesting example is provided by the GSM operator advertisement, “*Бовар намекунам | Зангҳо | ба ҷамаи | рақамҳо | о дир. | Beeline*” [84] (‘I don’t believe [it]. Call all numbers for o dir. Beeline’). The present tense seems to be also used to express future actions, e.g. on a Soviet-period World War II monument “*(...) ки ди-гар барнамегарданд.*” [41] ‘who will not come back.’

Simple Past tense forms may be noticed too, even if they are far less frequent. In isolated examples, such as “*БАҲОРИ | ОЛАМАФРӢЗ БА | ТОҶИКИСТОН | ОМАД*” [80] or “*миллати тоҷик ҷаиши | наврӯзро дар тӯли асрҳо | ба монанди забони | модарии худ неқӯ нигаҳ | дошт. | Эмомалӣ Раҳмон*” [79], *МО КУШОДА ШУДЕМ* [63] the Simple Past Tense is used in its most typical meaning, i.e. referring to an action performed and completed in the past (Perry 2005: 213). Nevertheless, most examples of what would be considered grammatically the past tense in the analyzed corpus are provided by the extensively used petrified phrase *хуш омадед* [38, 44, 55 etc.] ‘welcome’ and its variant *хуш омадӣ* (sg.) [75]. However, it has to be remembered that even if it is – from the formal point of view – the 2 pl. of the Simple Past Tense, in practice in the modern language, it is deprived of the reference to the past.

The Imperative (sg. and pl.), in turn, is more frequent, e.g. *бинарҳез!* [65] ‘abstain!’, and standard phrases, such as *лаззат баред* [52] ‘enjoy (pl.) sth.’ and *зинда бош* [36] ‘[long] live! (sg.)’. The prohibitive is attested by the form *нагузored!* [54] ‘do not leave [sth.]! (2 pl. neg.)’.

The Perfect Indicative is not very well attested. Wherever it is to be found, it is used in its primary, traditional function, i.e. as a resultative form, rather than the non-witnessed perfect (see Perry 2005: 218–219), e.g. “*(...) ҲЕЧ КАС ВА ҲЕЧ ЧИЗ | ФАРОМУШ НАШУДААСТ*” [46] (‘No-one and nothing has been forgotten’).

² An alternative present form of the verb *to be* (Perry 2005: 205).

The Definite Future Tense can be found in at least one inscription, “(...) *ки Тоҷикистонро (...) табдил хоҳад дод!*” [43] ‘(...) which will change Tajikistan’. The type of text in which the form in question appears (a solemn political declaration) agrees with what Perry notices about the Definite Future Tense in Tajik, i.e. that it is used in the literary style and may have an “asseverative nuance” (Perry 2005: 216).

Past participles that appear on their own (that is not as a part of complex verbal forms) may be found in the analyzed corpus too, e.g. *накарда гиря* [41] ‘not having cried’.

The archaic Optative form of the verb *to be* may be found in a number of solemn political declarations, e.g. “*Поянда бод, Истиқлолияти давлатии Ҷумҳурии Тоҷикистон*” [64] ‘Let the independence of the Republic of Tajikistan be eternal!’) or in conventional festive greetings, like “*Наврӯзи | хуҷастанай | муборак бод, | дӯстон!*” [78] ‘Let Nawruz be happy [and] blessed, friends!’).

As far as the verb *to be* is concerned, apart from the stem *бош-*, forms based on the older version, i.e. *був-* are attested, too, c.f. *бувад* [77]. Statistically, the most frequently observed verbal form is the 3rd sg. Simple Present of the verb *to be*, i.e. *аст* /ast/ or its enclitic form *-cm* /-st/.

Interestingly, all or almost all of the verbal forms attested in the analyzed corpus belong to the common Fārsi-Tojiki inventory. In other words, none of the specifically Tajik forms, which are numerous, are to be found.

The attested prepositions include simple prepositions (*аз, бо, дар, то* etc.), both singly and in combinations, including some variants, like the poetical and/or stylistically marked variant of *аз*, i.e. *зу* [42]. Some derived prepositions (Perry 2005: 91) and prepositional phrases (Perry 2005: 93) are to be found as well, such as *ба сӯи* ... ‘in the direction of’, e.g. *ба сӯи ғарб* ‘to the west’ [42], *баро-и* ... ‘for; in order to’, e.g. *ҷой барои реклама* [68] ‘a place for an advertisement’. Specifically Tajik adpositions, e.g. *катӣ/қатӣ* (see Perry 2005: 91; Aliev, Okawa 2010) are not found.

Single prepositions (both simple and combined) are common in Tajik (including colloquial Tajik) and Fārsi and if there are subtle differences, these are mostly noticeable in the manner in which they are used (Aliev, Okawa 2010). It is probable that such minor peculiarities may be seen in some of the analyzed inscriptions, as in the use of *бар* as an independent preposition (Aliev, Okawa 2010), e.g. *бар дӯстон* ‘upon friends’ [76]. Similarly, the denominal preposition *баъд* is attested within the izofat phrase: *баъди солҳову асрҳо* [41], whereas in Persian it is normally used as a part of the complex preposition *بعد از* (Rubinčik 1970: 1.212).

There are also certain specific structures, such as the phrase *ба номи* ... wherever an object (a street, a school, etc.) is named after an individual, etc., e.g. *Донишгоҳи давлатии Қӯлоб ба номи Рӯдаки* [47], *кӯчаи ба номи М. Турсунзода* [56]. The modern Persian of Iran follows a different model, attaching the personal name to the name of the object in the izofat phrase, c.f. *دانشگاه شهید بهشتی* etc.

The postposition *ро* is used in its literary form [42, 82, etc.] and there is no trace of the adpositions *ба, бо, да* (see Perry 2005: 104).

References

- Aliev B., Okawa A. 2010 [last updated]. Colloquial Tajiki in comparison with Persian of Iran. – *Encyclopædia Iranica*. [<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tajik-iii-colloquial>].
- Perry J.R. 2005. *A Tajik Persian reference grammar*. Leiden, Boston.
- Rubinčik Yu.A. 1970. *Persidsko-Russkij slovar'*. Moskva.
- Rubinčik Yu.A. 2001. *Grammatika sovremenno persidskogo literaturnogo jazyka*. Moskva.

Appendix

List of inscriptions

33. Tajik safari 2010-3-29 Dushanbe *меҳмонхонаи Тоҷикистон* [at:] <http://www.tajiksafari.com/public/userfiles/Hotels/Hotel%20Tajikistan/frant.jpg>
34. КРЫСМАН 2008-6-28b Dushanbe *Зангҳо ба Русия дар вақти шабона (...) | Звонки в Россию в ночное время* | [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/11645942>
35. Шахриёр Ёров 2013-9-21 Dushanbe *ФУРЎШИ ТЕРМИНАЛҲОИ МАБЛАҒУЗАРОНӢ* (...) [at:] <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/96821584.jpg>
36. jahongard 2013-4-14 Dushanbe *ЗИНДА БОШ ЭӢ ВАТАН, ТОӢКИСТОНИ ОЗОДИ МАН* [at:] <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/92550085.jpg>
37. Damir-Kadyrov 2011-5-30 Dushanbe *МАРКАЗИ САВДОИ ТЕХНИКӢ | ИНТИХОБ НАМОӢН АСТ! | ТЕХНО СИЛА* [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/53457338>
38. Хайриддин 2007-11-27 Dushanbe (...) *МАКТАБИ ТАӢСИЛОТИ МИӢНАИ УМУМИИ НО 51 (...) | (...) СРЕДНЯЯ ОБЩЕОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНАЯ ШКОЛА НО 51 (...) | ХУШ ОМАДЕД* [at:] <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/34918142.jpg>
39. Parviz.Tj 2007-6-15 Panjikent *ЗИ ШОИР ЗИНДА МЕМОНАД БА ГЕТӢ НОМ ШО-ӢОНРО || ФУРӢФ АЗ РӢДАКӢ ДОРАД ЧИРОФИ ДУДАИ СОМОН* | ز شاعر زنده مٓ ماند || *Тоҷикистон эӢи давлати СомониӢ аст!* [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/2759133>
40. zachheise 2009-5-17 Khorugh *ХУШ ОМАДЕД МЕӢМОНОН! (МЕХМОНОН)* [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/34258940>
41. gundomar 2009-5-29a Khujand *БА ЁД ОРЕД! | БАӢДИ СОЛӢОВУ АСРӢО ЁРОН, | БА ЁД ОРЕД! | ОНӢОРО, КИ ДИГАР БАРНАМЕГАРДАНД. | НАКАРДА | ГИРЯВУ ЗОРӢ НАКАРДА НОЛАЮ АФӢОН, | ШАӢИДОНРО | ШАВЕД АРЗАНДА | ОНӢО ЧУН ФИДО КАРДАНДӢ || 1941 * 1945 || ПОМНИТЕ! | ЧЕРЕЗ ГОДА, | ЧЕРЕЗ ВЕКА, | О ТЕХ, КТО УЖЕ НЕ ПРИДЕТ НИКОГДА | ПОМНИТЕ. | НЕПЛАЧЬТЕ! | В ГОРЛЕ ЗДЕРЖИТЕ | СТОНЫ, ГОРКИЕ СТОНЫ. | ПАМЯТИ ПАВШИХ БУДТЕ | ДОСТОИНЫ!* [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/30169760>
42. gundomar 2009-5-29b Khujand *МО БА ИСТИҚБОЛИ | БОНГУ НАӢРАӢОИ | РАӢДУ БАРҚ | ҚАӢРАМОНОНА | БА ЧАНГИ БЕАМОН БАРХОСТЕМ, | ОФТОБОСО БА СӢӢ | ҒАРБ РАФТА, | МО ЗИ ШАРҚ | КОӢИ(?) БАХТИ | ОДАМИРО ДАР ЧАӢОН | ОРОСТЕМ || (...) [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/30169860>*
43. Чутанов Атабек 2010-4-16 Konibodom *Конибодом гушаи хушманзараи диӢри мо буда, бо обу хоки зархезу [пурбаракаташ] на танӢо | макони пахта ва меваӢои шаӢдбор, балки парваришигоӢи кадрӢои [хушлаӢқату] тавоно мебошад, | ЭмомалӢ РаӢмон* [at:] <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/51373612.jpg>
44. Solti 2007-10-8 Isfara *Хуш омадед, | МеӢмонони азиз! || Добро пожаловать, | дорогие гости!* [at:] <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/9839493.jpg>

45. Асатулло Узаев 2010-5-27a Isfara 20 сол | Истиқлолият ободии макон, | файзу шукӯҳи диёр аст. | 1991–2011 [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/36023520>
46. Rustam Khalikov 2008-6-20 Khorugh 1941 1[945] | ҲЕҶ КАС ВА ҲЕҶ ЧИЗ | ФАРОМЎШ НАШУДААСТ [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/11560010>
47. sulaymon shobek 2007-7-6 Kulob Донишгоҳи давлатии Кӯлоб ба номи Рудаки (sic) [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/4443240>
48. sulaymon shobek 2007-7-6 Kulob МАРКАЗИ | ЭКОЛОГӢ || ECOLOGICAL | CENTER [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/4443318>
49. ackoreo 2011-10-7b Qurghonteppa ИСТИҚЛОЛИЯТИ ДАВЛАТӢ ДАСТОВАРДИ МУҲИМТАРИН | ВА БУЗУРГТАРИНИ ТАЪРИХИ НАВИНИ ХАЛҚИ | ТОҶИКИСТОН МЕБОШАД. | ЭМОМАЛИ РАҲМОН [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/61364801>
50. kasp 2008-7-26b Vahdat Мо наздиктар мешавем! | (...) | пасандозҳо | (...) | Маблаггузори | аз 100\$ то 300 000\$ | (...) [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/58296161>
51. <http://ds-lands.com> 2014-8-15b Dushanbe ЗИЁИЁН | НЕРУ ВА | ЧАВҲАРИ | АҚЛОНИИ | МИЛЛАТ, | ҚУВВАИ | ПЕШБАР[АНДАИ] | ҚОМЕ[А] | ҲАСТА[НД.] | ЭМОМАЛИ РАҲМОН [at:] <http://ds-lands.com/photo/cities/dushanbe/10/>
52. Joao Leitao JoaoleitaoTRAVEL 2012-6-12g Dushanbe ТАРАБХОНАИ | Кӯҳсор | Аз маззаи таомҳои | хотирмони мо лаззат баред || Kuhsor | RESTAURANT | Join us for a dinner to remember | (...) [at:] <https://www.flickr.com/photos/joaoleitao/8134259741/>
53. Joao Leitao JoaoleitaoTRAVEL 2012-6-12h Dushanbe Муассисаи | Шумо || Internet & Digital Services | Shoma [at:] <https://www.flickr.com/photos/joaoleitao/8134259741/>
54. Le*Gluon 2011-6-11 Dushanbe НАГУЗОРЕД | НЕ ОСТАВЛЯЙТЕ [at:] https://www.flickr.com/photos/le_gluon/5820406913/
55. abudulloh1988 2011-5-24 Isfara Хуш омадед ба Исфараи бостонӣ [at:] <https://www.flickr.com/photos/63290521@N07/5756659985/sizes/o/in/photostream/>
56. Dean Chahim Dean.Chahim 2011-8-11 Istaravshan кӯчаи | ба номи | М. Турсунзода | 91 [at:] <https://www.flickr.com/photos/chahim/6310663339/>
57. placchic 2010-2-14 Khujand ТАМАДДУНИ ОРИЁИ ГАҲВОРАИ | МАЪНАВИИ ҶАҲОНИЁН АСТ. [at:] <https://www.flickr.com/photos/27304941@N08/5638563065>
58. Alex Kühni alex_photo_82 2013-10-28 Khorugh СУЛҲ | МАЪНИИ | ТАЪРИХИ | МОСТ [at:] https://www.flickr.com/photos/alex_kuehni/10965062064/
59. Talking Tajik 2011-12-17 Tajikistan БА РИШВА | дар баҳши маориф | НЕ! МЕГУЕМ | 9 декабр | рӯзи умумиҷаҳонии мубориза бо ришва [at:] <http://talkingtajik.blogspot.com/2011/12/until-2012-taj.html>
60. 2012-11-24 Dushanbe 24 ноябр | ПАРЧАМИ ТОҶИКИСТОН | МУҚАДДАСОТ ВА | РАМЗИ МИЛЛИИ МОСТ! [at:] <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2012/11/24/time-to-change-tajikistans-flag/>
61. 2014-10-6 Dushanbe ҶУМҲУРИИ ТОҶИКИСТОН || ҶАМЪИЯТИ САҲОМИИ КУШОДАИ | “КУРОРТҲОИ ТОҶИКИСТОН” || ОТКРЫТОЕ АКЦИОНЕРНОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО | “КУРОРТҲОИ ТОҶИКИСТОН” || OPEN JOINT STOCK COMPANY | “KURORTNOI TOJIKISTON” [at:] <http://www.kurort.tj/en/contacts.html>
62. British Muzkol Pamir Expedition 2013 2013 – Pamir highway Иҷлосияи XVI Шӯрои Олии | Ҷумҳурии Тоҷикистон, | сарчашмаи Ваҳдати Миллӣ | ва пойдории Истиқлолияти | давлатии Ҷумҳурии Тоҷикистон | мебошад. [at:] <http://britishmuzkol2013.wordpress.com/2013/09/25/driving-the-pamir-highway-the-roof-of-the-world/>
63. Vdushanbe.ru 2014-10-11 Dushanbe МО КУШОДА ШУДЕМ [at:] <http://vdushanbe.ru/catalog/shops/torgovo-ofisnyj-centr-rudaki-plaza/>
64. Zack Knowles 2014-10-12a Istaravshan Поянда бод, Истиқлолияти давлатии Ҷумҳурии Тоҷикистон [at:] http://tj.worldmapz.com/photo/161_en.htm

65. Zack Knowles 2014-10-12b Istaravshan *Аз амали бад бинарҳез!* [at:] http://tj.worldmapz.com/photo/161_en.htm
66. Ozodagon 2014-9-5 Tajikistan *КОРРУПСИЯ | Муқовимати ту | аҳамияти калон дорад!* [at:] <http://www.ozodagon.com/17944-peshniodi-honanda-misli-kdak-dar-shabaka-i-itimo-girya-nakuned.html>
67. Tojnews.org 2014-3-31 Khujand *МО БО ШУМОЕМ | ҶАНОБИ ОЛИ!* [at:] <http://tojnews.org/akshoi-rahmon-ba-joyi-reklama-dar-khujand>
68. Pda.pressa.tj 2014-10-12 Tajikistan *ҶОӢ БАРОИ РЕКЛАМА | ТЕЛ: ...* [at:] <http://pda.pressa.tj/tochikiston/reklamai-ichtimoi-darmoni-chomeai-bemor>
69. Voice of America 2011-10-1 Tajikistan *Мо Роғунро бо дастӣ худ, бо саҳми худ, | бо дили саршор аз ватандӯстӣ месозем!* [at:] <http://www.voanews.com/content/tajikistan-plans-to-build-worlds-tallest-hyrd-dam-133976238/148285.html>
70. stuartandalison 2011-2-20a Dushanbe *Алло! | Ман дар хона ҳастам! || Нархи муфиди баробар барои зангҳо | дар Россия* аз Тоҷикистон || (...)* [at:] <http://stuartandalison.blogspot.com/>
71. Llewellyn Bardecki 2014-10-24 Istaravshan *Иҷлосияи XVI-уми Шӯроии Олии Ҷумҳурии Тоҷикистон | саҳифаи дурахшон дар таърихи тоҷикон* [at:] <http://blogs.bootsnall.com/llew/eating-and-being-eaten-in-northern-tajikistan.html>
72. Kivafellows 2014-10-25 Kulob *Алоқа бо наздикон – бебаҳост! | связь з родными не имеет цены! || Тӯҳфа барои занги даромад + 4 дирам* | Подарок за входящие + 4 дирама* || Муфассалтар (...)| Подробености (...)| Beeline | (...)* [at:] <https://kivafellows.wordpress.com/tag/remittances/>
73. Arnis Balcus 2010-10-10 Panjikent *МО ИНТЕРНАТСИОНАЛИСТОНЕМ* [at:] <http://balcus.blogspot.com/2010/10/penjikent.html>
74. Ozodagon 2014-3-19 Dushanbe *БА ДИҚҚАТИ ШАҲРВАНДОН | РАСОНИДА МЕШАВАД, КИ БАРОИ | ГИРИФТАНИ МАӢЛУМОТ АЗ | ШӢЪБАӢ ҚАБУЛ МАСЛИҲАТДИҲӢ | БА МУҲОҶИРОНИ МЕҲНАТӢ ТАНҲО | БА СОКИНОНИ ШАҲРИ ДУШАНБЕ | ИҶОЗАТ ДОДА МЕШАВАД.* [at:] <http://ozodagon.com/15406-orat-i-muoironi-toik-az-vatan-sar-meshavad-aks.html>
75. Ozodagon 2013-3-20 Dushanbe *Хуш омадӢ, Наврӯзи оламафрӯз!* [at:] <http://www.ozodagon.com/9197-akso-shioroi-navrz-dar-kchavu-paskchaoi-dushanbe.html>
76. Ozodagon 2013-3-20 Dushanbe *Наврӯзи | навбоҳорон | бар дӯстон | муборак!* [at:] <http://www.ozodagon.com/9197-akso-shioroi-navrz-dar-kchavu-paskchaoi-dushanbe.html>
77. Ozodagon 2013-3-20 Dushanbe *Фархунда | бувад | хиромӣ | Наврӯз!* [at:] <http://www.ozodagon.com/9197-akso-shioroi-navrz-dar-kchavu-paskchaoi-dushanbe.html>
78. Ozodagon 2013-3-20 Dushanbe *Наврӯзи | хучастанай | муборак бод, | дӯстон!* [at:] <http://www.ozodagon.com/9197-akso-shioroi-navrz-dar-kchavu-paskchaoi-dushanbe.html>
79. Ozodagon 2013-3-20 Dushanbe *Миллати тоҷик ҷаишӣ | Наврӯзро дар тӯли асрҳо | ба монанди забони | модарии худ неқӯ нигаҳ | дошт. | Эмомалӣ Раҳмон* [at:] <http://www.ozodagon.com/9197-akso-shioroi-navrz-dar-kchavu-paskchaoi-dushanbe.html>
80. Ozodagon 2013-3-20 Dushanbe *БАҲОРИ | ОЛАМАФРӢЗ БА | ТОӢКИСТОНИ | ОМАД* [at:] <http://www.ozodagon.com/9197-akso-shioroi-navrz-dar-kchavu-paskchaoi-dushanbe.html>
81. Radyo-i Ozodi 2014-11-17 Dushanbe *НУҚТАӢ МУБОДИЛАӢ АСӢОР | ПУНКТИ ОБМЕНА ВАЛӢЮТ | EXCHANGE OFFICE* [at:] <http://www.ozodi.org/content/exchange-office-attacked-in-dushanbe/26695431.html>
82. Abduazim 2010-11-12 Rasht *РОӢУН МАӢБАӢ АЛОӢАШАВАНДАӢӢ НУР АСТ, | КИ ТОӢКИСТОӢПРО ДАР ОӢУШӢ ШАРҚӢ | КУӢАН БА АХТАРИ ӢАМЕШАТОБОӢ*

ТАБДИЛИ ХОҶАД ДОД! | Змомалӣ Раҳмон [at:] <https://abduazim.wordpress.com/2010/11/12/%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%88%D1%82-%C2%AB%D1%87%D0%B8%D1%81%D1%82%D0%BA%D0%B0%C2%BB-%D0%B2%D0%B0-%D2%93%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%B1-%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B8-%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B5%D1%84%D0%BE%D0%BD/>

83. Nahzat 2014-9-10 Khujand *ШҶЪБАИ ҲИЗБИ НАҲЗАТИ ИСЛОМИИ ТОҶИКИСТОН* [at:] <http://nahzat.tj/13022-daftari-viloyatii-nit-ro-dar-shari-huand-bastand-aks.html>
84. Dastbadast 2015-1-16 Tajikistan *Бовар намекунам | Зангҳо | ба ҳамаи | рақамҳо | 0 дур.* | *Beeline* [at:] <http://www.dastbadast.tj/images/Firuz/beeline2.jpg>